

**AN
INQUIRY CONCERNING
RACIAL PREJUDICE**

**by
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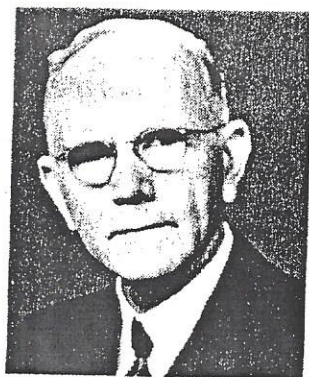
FOREWORD

This paper by Professor Charles C. Josey marks the beginning of a new IAAEE Monograph series. Unlike IAAEE's Reprints of scientific articles on the race question, the monographs will consist of hitherto unpublished studies, with the exception of an occasional paper that has been revised and enlarged by its author.

While the monographs will mainly present the findings and views of scholars in the fields of the natural and social sciences, the series will also include studies dealing with history and law when the views of social scientists on the race question are a principal factor in these subjects. Too, the papers selected for the series will be chosen, when at all possible, on the basis of their being easily understood by the average intelligent laymen.

The principal objective of the new monograph series is to expose the fact that the findings of many prominent natural and social scientists do not support the dogmatic assertions on the question of racial differences of the contingent of social scientists who now dominate America's institutions of higher learning.

— THE EDITORS



ABOUT THE AUTHOR

DR. CHARLES C. JOSEY, author, lecturer and teacher, has written a number of books and many articles dealing with psychology and social philosophy. In much of his work he explores social values and shows how psychology can contribute more to the enrichment of life.

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Professor Josey was born at Scotland Neck, North Carolina, in 1893. He attended Wake Forest College, where he received his B.A. in 1913. A few years later he entered Columbia University, where he did post-graduate work. From Columbia he received his M.A. in 1918 and his Ph.D. in 1921.

In the same year that Professor Josey received his doctorate he was appointed an instructor in the Psychology Department at Dartmouth College. He left Dartmouth in 1923 as an assistant professor to accept an appointment as Professor of Psychology and Philosophy at the University of South Dakota. Dr. Josey continued in this position until 1932, when the University of South Dakota appointed him head of the department.

In 1939 Professor Josey was offered the chairmanship of the Department of Psychology of Butler University,

which he accepted and held until his retirement as Professor Emeritus in 1963.

Dr. Josey is a member of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, the Mid-Western Psychological Association, the American Association of University Professors, and of Phi Beta Kappa and Phi Kappa Phi.

Professor Josey has contributed many articles to professional journals on clinical and social psychology, resulting from his extensive research in the fields of psychology and philosophy. He is the author of *The Role of Instinct in Social Philosophy*, a monograph published in 1921, and *The Psychological Battlefront of Democracy*, a monograph published in 1944. His books include:

1. *The Social Philosophy of Instinct* (1922)
2. *Race and National Solidarity* (1923)
3. *The Psychology of Religion* (1927)
4. *Psychology of Normal People* (Co-Author) (1940)
5. *Psychology and Successful Living* (1948)

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AN INQUIRY CONCERNING RACIAL PREJUDICE

I

PREJUDICE AND PREFERENCE

PREJUDICE, especially race prejudice, is widely regarded as a spiritual blight born of ignorance, inadequate feelings of personal worth, and indoctrination. It is doubtful, however, if a careful analysis of the psychological realities it denotes will justify the popular opprobrium heaped upon it.

When the grand strategy of man's moral and social development is better understood, it may be discovered that some of the attitudes and processes lumped under the rubric prejudice are essential to man becoming a free, rational, moral person, who is able and willing to take part in determining what he is to be. This possibility is suggested by a consideration of the fundamental causes of prejudice and of the conditions necessary for the development of a value system, and of the con-

ditions that stimulate us to strive to actualize the best that is potentially within us.

Prejudice is a two-sided attitude. On the one side, it involves preference for, loyalty to, and identification with one's own group. On the other, it involves suspicion and rejection of outsiders, and hostility if the outsiders are seen as threats. The first set of attitudes are fundamental and primary.

If there were no preference for, loyalty to, or identification with one's church, there would be no denominational tensions or friction. If there were no preference for, loyalty to, identification with one's nation there would be no international rivalry and hate. Similarly, if there were no preference for, loyalty to, or identification with one's race, there would be no race tensions and antagonisms.

Identification with one's own group does not necessarily involve hostility toward others, though it frequently does. Some, apparently, are so impressed with the evils of discrimination, suspicion, and hostility, associated with group loyalty, that they would uproot loyalty to and identification with one's own race. This, we believe, is unrealistic. If it were possible, it would be like throwing out the baby with the bath. A more realistic concern for human welfare should provoke a serious consideration of how we can preserve the values of in-group identification and lessen the evils commonly associated with it.

Gregor has shown that race prejudice, instead of being a recent development or a product of Capitalism, is as old as recorded history and is

currently found among the most backward peoples as well as among the most advanced.¹ Regarding its prevalence in the United States, Allport and Kramer estimate that 80 percent of the population have feelings of hostility toward out-groups.² Krech and Crutchfield think this estimate is too low.³ How is the pervasiveness and prevalence of prejudice to be explained?

Since the days of Locke and Condillac, psychologists have striven to account for behavior and personality as elaborations of some simple process caused by learning. In harmony with this aspiration, many psychologists claim that prejudice is a learned attitude. Some have incorporated the adjective learned in their definition of an attitude.⁴ Two leading psychologists claim that it has been demonstrated conclusively that prejudice against Negroes "is imposed bodily and uncritically without any basis in experience or knowledge."⁵

The investigation here referred to was made by Horowitz. Yet his findings, as reported, hardly warrant their sweeping conclusion. Horowitz found by means of suitable tests that White children, whether they live in New York or in Georgia, whether they live in rural or urban areas, whether they attend all-White or inte-

1. A. James Gregor, "On the Nature of Prejudice," *The Eugenics Review*, January, 1961.
2. G. W. Allport and B. M. Kramer, "Some Roots of Prejudice," *Journal of Psychology*, 22, pp. 9-39.
3. David Krech and Richard S. Crutchfield, *Theory and Problems of Social Psychology*, (New York: McGraw-Hill), 1948, pp. 474-5.
4. S. Stansfield Sargent and Robert C. Williamson, *Social Psychology*, (New York: The Ronald Press, 1958), p. 225.
5. Muzafer Sherif and Hadley Cantril, "The Psychology of Attitudes," *The Psychological Review*, January, 1946, p. 11.

grated schools, are equally prejudiced against the Negroes. Children of Communists were the only ones without prejudice. Horowitz attributed this difference to the lack of prejudice in the parents of these children. The other children, he claims, absorbed the prejudice from their parents. With this interpretation, Sherif and Cantril, the two psychologists referred to above, agree.

The possibility that the Communists may have taught their children not to be prejudiced against Negroes is not considered. The importance of this neglect is indicated by a study of race attitudes by Himelhoch at New York University and by Hartley at the City College of New York. Both of these investigators, as reported by Hartley and Hartley, found that college students of Jewish background have little prejudice against Negroes, but that they are as prejudiced toward other ethnic groups as non-Jews. On the basis of these findings, Hartley and Hartley conclude:

"However, not only did the mean 'bias' score reflect less antagonism and less hostility toward Negroes than that found among the other groups, but the shape of the distribution curve was such as to suggest that, in the segment of the population being sampled, there was 'institutionalization' of the 'no bias' position rather than individualized variation around a liberal mode of response. In other words, there appears to be in certain groups a definite social norm of no-bias in ethnic attitudes."⁶

That prejudice can occur without being trans-

6. Eugene L. Hartley and Ruth E. Hartley, *Fundamentals of Social Psychology*, (New York: Knopf, 1952), p. 709.

mitted from person to person has been demonstrated by Hartley, who gave a list of thirty-five presumably ethnic groups to students in several colleges. In reality three names on the list were fictitious, the Danireans, Pireneans, and the Wallonians. Hence, there could have been no propaganda or attitudes transmitted from parent to child regarding them. Yet the students as a group manifested a rejectant attitude regarding these non-existent groups. The dominant attitude was expressed by a student who wrote regarding each, "I don't know anything about them, therefore I would exclude them from my country."⁷

When psychologists regard prejudice as an attitude transmitted from parent to child, they neglect to explain how prejudice arose originally. This problem is recognized by Hartley and Hartley, who after treating prejudice as learned response, write:

"This analysis has described prejudice as part of the socialization cycle: society includes prejudice as a social norm, the developing individual interiorizes prejudice, and as a member of society he displays prejudice. Such a description reflects the social-psychological analysis at the present time. For a comprehensive picture of how society came to include prejudice in the first place we should have to turn to the historian."⁸

This way of avoiding a problem, created by the insistence of psychologists that all prejudices are learned, is unscientific and unsportsmanlike. If psychologists, who are specialists in the dynamics

7. E. L. Hartley, Problems in Prejudice. From Hartley and Hartley, *op. cit.*, pp. 699-701.

8. *Ibid.*, 717.

of behavior, cannot explain how attitudes arise among people, whom they can study intensively, how can they expect historians, who presumably know less about the dynamics of behavior, to explain how prejudices arose among people long since dead?

Of course, knowledge of history may help a psychologist understand the prejudices of the past as knowledge of the present helps him to understand current prejudices and their intensity. For example, knowledge that there were laws in Spanish America prior to the importation of Negroes as slaves into the Western hemisphere, which protected the slave, and that there were no laws in North America which did so, may help us understand why race prejudice is different in the two Americas. But this does not explain why the settlers in either America thought it proper to enslave Negroes but not Whites.

If this should be explained by saying that the Negroes were heathen and the Whites were Christians, we would then need to know why they thought it proper to enslave non-Christians but not Christians. Certainly the problem is too complex to warrant Krech and Crutchfield's statement, "There is no doubt that our present complex racial problem with respect to the Negro started with a simple and primary economic practice."⁹

Instead of turning to history for the origin of prejudice, psychologists should turn to the development of personality and to the necessity of rational and moral beings to structure their

9. *Theories and Problems of Social Psychology*, p. 445.

world. The consciousness of an infant is a vague state of awareness, devoid of structure and organization. As the infant matures and learns, certain objects begin to stand out and its perceptual world takes on meaning and form. As children we begin to classify objects on the basis of selected qualities. We early divide the human race into the male and female and identify ourselves with our own sex. If reared in a community of different races, we observe that some people are white, that some are black, and that some are brown, and we place ourselves in the group to which we belong. If there is only one race in the community, we are likely to identify ourselves with those whose hair or eyes are the same color as ours. Similarly, we observe that some people live in big houses, dress well, and give commands, and that some live in small houses, dress shabbily, and obey commands. In each case we normally identify ourselves with the group to which we belong and are pleased when it succeeds and disturbed when it fails.

We also structure our world into functional groups. The most important of these is the family group, consisting of mother, father, and children. The members of the family eat, talk, play, and work together. Sometimes they quarrel and fight, but fundamentally they stand together, and each member can count on the others for love and help in time of trouble. Within the family circle, each person finds his place and he feels comfortable and secure. Anyone who threatens or who is perceived as a threat to the peace and security of the inner circle arouses antagonism.

The family does more than to provide comfort,

security, and companionship. It is a great moralizing and socializing agency. The child identifies himself with the family, and the manners and ideals of the family are for the child *our* ways of acting, *our* way of decorating the Christmas tree, *our* ideals, and he takes great pride in them. The child acts, believes, and feels as the family. By so doing he gains courage, confidence, and guidance. What has been said of loyalty to and identification with the family may be said with proper modifications regarding loyalty to and identification with such groups as the community, the school or college, the church, the nation, and the race with which a person identifies himself.

II

INFANTS AND CHIMPANZEES

WHEN once we have structured our world so that it has become predictable and we feel that we know our way around in it, anything that disrupts this structure is likely to arouse anxiety, fear, and hostility. These responses may be observed in infants and even in young chimpanzees. The young infant, who belongs to a small family circle, will show no shyness or fear of a stranger when four months old. But at six months he will, even though he may have had no unpleasant experience with a stranger. The chimpanzee shows the same pattern of development, though he begins to show fear of strangers at a somewhat earlier age. The fear of neither can be attributed to disagreeable experiences with strangers, for there has been none.

We must conclude that the infant structures its world so that it feels safe and secure, and that strangers disrupt its structured world and are

perceived as threats. Infants do not learn to be uneasy and disturbed when their familiar and satisfying world is upset any more than they learn to be disturbed when hungry or when pricked by a pin. Certainly they do not learn from their parents to be disturbed by strangers, for the person who is a stranger to the infant may be a close and dear friend to the parents.

Other observations of the behavior of children and chimpanzees support this conclusion. Young children usually are not afraid of snakes, but as they grow older, even though they may have had no experience with snakes, they are likely to fear them. That this fear should not be attributed to the example of their mothers upon seeing a snake in a picture book is indicated by the fact that chimpanzees, who have no picture books or conceptual language, show the same change in attitude toward snakes.¹⁰ These fears need not be attributed wholly to maturation, but as Hebb states, they are significantly related to prenatal and postnatal experiences, which are normally inevitable for all members of a species.¹¹ This is another way of saying that when an organism has acquired a frame of reference which makes his world safe and intelligible, anything which upsets it causes anxiety.

Even a change in the combination of familiar objects may excite fear in infant chimpanzees. Hebb reports that when one of the two male attendants, to whom a group of infant chimpanzees had become attached, put on the coat of his

10. These observations are reported by Donald O. Hebb, *A Textbook of Psychology*, (New York: Saunders, 1958), p. 162.

11. *Ibid.*, 121 and 168.

co-worker, he evoked from the young chimpanzees fear responses similar to those evoked by the intrusion of strangers.¹² A similar pattern of development was envinced with respect to fear of model heads of chimpanzees and of men. One and two year old chimpanzees show little interest in such objects. Those about five show marked interest. Adult chimpanzees show marked fear.¹³

The emergence of this fear cannot be attributed to learning, verbal or otherwise, for the chimpanzees had had no previous experience with heads separated from bodies, and they have no language by means of which they can indoctrinate one another with fear of what to them is evidently a gruesome and shocking disturbance of their structured world.

We have emphasized the reaction of chimpanzees to changes in their structured world because they enable us to rule out more definitely the possibility of learning to be disturbed. Similar reactions are, however, just as clear in man. The young child does not like variations in his favorite store. He does not like Christmas trees to be decorated differently from the way to which he is accustomed. When older, he likes people to worship as he does.

More serious values and expectations develop the same way. The goodness, beauty, and tenderness of our mothers, we attribute through generalization to all women, and we expect all women to be good, kind, and gentle. As a consequence, when we first encounter a coarse, vile, immoral

12. *Ibid.*, 163.

13. *Ibid.*, 36.

woman, our structured world and expectations are shattered, and we find the vile creature repulsive. We did not learn to react to her in this way. We were disturbed by the sight of her as we are disturbed by anyone who destroys something we have long loved and cherished.

There is no need, therefore, to call upon the historian to account for the origin of prejudice. It is surprising that Hartley and Hartley do so, for they clearly describe the psychological development which gives rise to prejudice under the three headings, Differentiation, Identification, and Evaluation.¹⁴ No one of these processes depends on history, tradition, or indoctrination. Given an intelligent being in a complex world, he must and will note differences and classify his perceptual world, and he must observe what classes embrace him. Given a social being, who can function satisfactorily only when he feels that he belongs to a group, he will feel differently toward the group or groups to which he belongs than to other groups. And if his relations within the group are at all satisfactory, he will prefer it and its ways and values.

Interpreting race prejudice as a social emergent, which may occur independently of learning, does not necessarily suggest that prejudices are uninfluenced by learning, or that they may not be learned. Learning is important. But what is learned? When a hungry, well-developed, healthy infant is put to its mother's breast for the first time, does he enjoy suckling because he has learned to do so, or does he react as if he has discovered

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 701 ff.

what he has been looking for all the time? Does the adolescent, who suddenly discovers that girls are beautiful, learn this? He has lived with girls all his life. He has had many years to learn this, but he did not. Then suddenly he discovers that the other half of the human race is beautiful, and perhaps more interesting than the boys who have been his chums for years. The sudden change seems more significantly related to maturation, especially to changes in the chemistry of his body, than to learning.

This is not to say that learning plays no part in the canalization of the sex drive. It is with sex as with food preferences. Some may relish oysters and abhor snails. Some may relish grasshoppers and rattlesnake meat, but cannot stand the thought of eating chicken. Such preferences are obviously due to the accident of learning. But it is no accident that we develop a preference for the foods to which we are accustomed. Similarly with the canalization of sex preference, it may be an accident that an adolescent falls in love with Grace instead of with Sally or Jane. But it is no accident that he channels his love.

He cannot indefinitely play the whole field and satisfy his need for companionship, understanding, and love. To satisfy these needs he must cultivate more intimate relations with a single person. Similarly, his need to love, to protect, and to serve cannot be directed toward all girls. It and the need to be loved impel him to concentrate his affection upon a single girl. He must, of course, choose his spouse from among those who are available. If no girls are present he cannot make a

choice. He may then seek as best he can to satisfy his need for love and understanding with an imaginary woman, created according to his heart's desire.

Learning plays a similar role in the origin of race prejudice. It may be an accident to be born into a given family, race, class, and culture. But it is no accident that a person will develop love for those who nourish him, or that he will develop a coherent and satisfying view of the world and of his place in it. He will identify himself with his group. Its values, ideals, beliefs, customs, and manners will become his. This process of development is influenced by indoctrination, social pressure, and observations.

If we are repeatedly told that members of a given race are inclined to be ambitionless, immoral, and lawless, we are likely to develop an appropriate attitude. If the group to which we belong and with which we identify ourselves treat members of a different race discourteously, we are likely to do the same, and to develop feelings of hostility toward the out-group. If we observe members of an out-race acting differently from our code, prejudice against the race is likely to be deepened. On the other hand, observation may reduce prejudice.

White soldiers when placed in integrated military units developed more favorable attitudes toward Negro soldiers. The same has been found to be true of seamen who have shipped with Negroes. In some new residential developments, which were opened to both Whites and Negroes from the beginning, race prejudice seems of little

importance. On the other hand, White children in New York who attend integrated schools are as prejudiced against Negroes as those who attend all-White schools.

Race prejudice has been intensified in schools which have been compelled by outside power to integrate. The same has happened in communities into which Negroes have moved in spite of the wishes of the Whites to maintain a racially homogeneous community. Race prejudice usually increases with an increase in the number of the minority group. A striking instance of this is the recent increase of prejudice against dark-skinned persons in England.

Hostility toward outside groups is increased whenever their presence is seen as a threat to cherished values. Negro soldiers in the army were not perceived by the Whites as a threat to their values. On the contrary, they had a common cause for which to fight, and as a result were drawn closer together. One's business partner may be a Jew, and friendly relations may exist in the office. But when the day's work is done, the Jew goes his way and the Gentile his. In this way there is no conflict or antagonism. But if the Gentile and Jew were to visit in each others homes, and friendship should develop between the children of their families, each might see the other as a threat to cherished customs and religious beliefs and practices.

Similarly, if an effort were made to extend the friendly relations that prevail in the army between Negro and White soldiers into civilian life, it would probably engender more hostility

than friendliness. In so far as a person feels pride in his race and wishes to preserve its purity, friendly relations with persons of a different race in one's home, church, or club will be perceived as a threat to cherished values, and the efforts to create such relations are likely to have a boomerang effect. Of course, if a person does not identify with his race or feel any loyalty to it, the increased likelihood of romantic attachments and marriage outside one's race will not be perceived as a threat.

Because we tend to perceive and to stress those things that are in harmony with our existing system of beliefs, values, and attitudes, and to assimilate any opposing fact, theory, or ideal in a way that will be least disturbing to that system, and therefore to our confidence and peace of mind, contacts with persons of a different race are more likely to intensify than to reduce race prejudice. If, for example, we should observe members of a race, which we do not like, acting in a kind, gracious manner, we are more likely to regard them as exceptions than to change our attitude toward the race to which they belong. On the other hand, if we should observe persons of that race acting in a coarse and uncouth manner, our prejudice against the group would be intensified.

This homeostatic principle of mental organization may prevent us from being as open-minded as some may wish. But without it, we would be like a leaf blown by the winds or a chip floating on the surface of a lake. Without trust in our beliefs, values, and ideals, we cannot become a moral agent or attain the stability of purpose necessary for the intelligent management of our

lives. We must think, evaluate, and act with what knowledge, beliefs, and values we have. As we gain wisdom and understanding, we should be able to think and act more constructively, and to gain these should be our chief goal. But in the meantime, we dare not refuse to act, think, and evaluate on the basis of whatever wisdom and understanding we may now possess. To do so would mean the abrogation of our rational and moral nature and of the obligation to act intelligently.

Preference for, loyalty to, and identification with the groups to which we belong are the inevitable effects of structuring our world perceptually and functionally and of identifying ourselves with certain parts of it. Some apparently are so impressed with the antagonism, jealousy, and destructive hate associated with loyalty to one's own group and to its standards and norms, that they regard this as the original sin of man, a burden that holds him down. We believe, however, that loyalty to and identification with one's group may with more justice be regarded as nature's way of creating free, rational, moral beings.

III

GROUP DYNAMICS

MODERN science has accustomed us to think in terms of energy. Man is an energy system in a larger energy system, and for him to exist there must be a constant interchange of energy between him and the larger whole of which he is a part. It is important that we understand and make use of all the sources of energy available to us in our efforts to attain the happiness of self-actualization.

The most elemental sources of our energy are the sun, food, and air. At a higher level we derive energy from sensory stimulation. The sound waves that strike our ear drums set into motion the little bones in the middle ear, which in turn agitates the liquid in the inner ear and cause the basilar membrane to vibrate, thus stimulating the auditory nerve, which conveys an energy impulse into the brain. The same is true of all sensory organs. Each one has an important part in transmitting

patterns of energy to the brain, thus making that organ a high gradient of energy from which flows the energy necessary for bodily tonus and efficient action. Recent studies of the effect of sensory deprivation have emphasized the importance of this source of energy.

A third source of energy available to us is the tension between what we are and what we aspire to be. Unlike a sapling or pup, a child imagines what he would like to be, and the goals he projects become important dynamic forces within him. Without the energy related to the projection of goals, a person may eat abundantly, spend many hours in the sunshine, and have normal sensory intake, and yet remain an apathetic hulk of a man, lacking energy and drive.

This source of energy is well illustrated by Florence Nightingale, who though broken in health carried on for many years a vigorous campaign to improve the military hospitals in England, France, and Germany. The pull of an ideal, not food or the stimulation of her senses, made her the highly dynamic woman that she was.¹⁵ Psychiatrists, clinical psychologists, and educators have long known that an apathetic, indifferent drifter may become a bright, alert, energetic person upon discovering what he wishes to become.

The fourth source of energy available to man is generally called group dynamics, and is experienced whenever social relations facilitate or inhibit activity. To be a member of an enthusiastic

¹⁵ Charles C. Josey, *Psychology and Successful Living*, (New York: Scribner's, 1948), pp. 32-33.

group energizes a person, as though the collective might of the group were flowing through him and raising him to a higher level of being. This phenomenon, Durkheim regards, as the fundamental basis of religious beliefs and practices.¹⁶ In less vivid ways we are energized by the groups to which we belong. Mental processes and the flow of wit are stimulated by being in a friendly, congenial group. The speaker is stimulated by the receptive attitude of his audience. Clinicians have discovered that groups of patients can be formed which will engender a therapeutic atmosphere, which will enable each member of the group to gain support, encouragement, and confidence from each other, and to act with more vigor and confidence. This phenomenon, Hadley refers to as the catalytic effect of the group on its members.¹⁷

Group membership does not always energize a person. If the ideals, purposes, and beliefs of a member of the group differ from those of the group, he is more likely to be drained of energy by being in the group than stimulated. Moreover, social facilitation may not always be wholesome. Unless the ideals and attitudes of a group are sound, the more closely a person identifies himself with it, the more detrimental it may be to his social and spiritual development. This possibility, though real, is accidental. Since we are concerned primarily with the values that may be derived from group membership, we shall deal with it only incidentally.

16. Emile Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (New York: Macmillan, 1915), Chapter 7 and pp. 119-127.

17. J. M. Hadley, *Clinical and Counseling Psychology*, (New York: Knopf, 1958), p. 229.

A person may be a member of an honored and respected family, and yet membership in it may have little value to him. This is almost certain to be so, if he does not love the other members of the family or identify himself with it. Perhaps the unconscious realization of this truth is partly responsible for children repressing feelings of hostility toward their father and projecting it on out-groups.¹⁸ Incidentally, it may be noted that if a person must hate, it is better to hate attitudinally persons who are remote than to hate aggressively one's intimate associates.

The ideals, attitudes, and values of a family become powerful motivators in the life of a person who has identified himself with his family, even though he may be far distant from any member of it. Pride in and loyalty to family impel him to act in accordance with the family's traditions and ideals. Love for the other members of the family makes him more sensitive to their feelings and open to whatever encouragement and moral support they are able to offer. Thus the family becomes a collective enterprise that promotes the moral and spiritual development of all its members.

Identification with one's family is facilitated by the existence of other families. Just as the presence of others is necessary for developing a deep sense of self-hood, so the existence of other families contributes to the development of a deep sense of family solidarity and loyalty. The same is true of the development of loyalty to and identification

18. Cf. Frenkel-Brunswik and R. N. Sandford, "Some Personality Factors in Anti-Semitism," *Journal of Psychology*, 20, pp. 271-291.

with other groups, such as one's community, college, nation, and race. The existence of coordinate groups by intensifying loyalty to one's own group contributes to the welfare of all.

Moreover, the existence of coordinate groups may energize each other. Two groups, whose members are as much alike as men can be, may seek to surpass each other, thereby making each group more dynamic. This would be true if they were seeking the same goal by the same method. If they should use different methods, the competition is likely to be keener, for each would seek to demonstrate the superiority of its method. If the members of one group are of different ethnic background from the members of the other, each group will strive all the harder in order to demonstrate that its members are superior to, or at least not inferior to, the members of the other group.

Group identification and solidarity are enhanced when the group is composed of persons of the same racial and cultural background. For example, a group of college students may be attracted to each other because of similarity of taste and ethnic background, and decide to rent a building and live together. A number of students of different ethnic backgrounds may do the same. In this group some are white, some are black, and some are brown. In the face of outside pressure or threat, this group may show as united a front as the other. But if a dispute should arise between two members of different races, there will be a tendency for the members of the two races involved to support the person of their race. The

election of officers, the development of a code of conduct, and preparing a statement of purpose are complicated by lack of homogeneity in the group, and by the fear of each that his racial group may not receive proper recognition.

These difficulties constantly confront us as a nation. If all citizens had the same ethnic background, many irrelevant issues would not complicate our elections. There would be no hyphenated Americans of divided loyalties, and the nation would be freed of many internal causes of tension, jealousy, and hate. Our foreign policy would be uncomplicated by ethnic groups pulling in opposite directions.

In order to reduce friction within our nation caused by religious and race differences, some apparently would ignore or eliminate them. At least many religious leaders are striving to bring all churches or denominations into one all-inclusive church. Those, who are seeking to integrate racially our schools, lunch counters, swimming pools, parks, and churches, evidently believe that race differences should be ignored. Some, no doubt, would like to see the amalgamation of the races. These efforts seem ill-advised. The existence of different races can and should be made to contribute to man's moral, social, and spiritual progress, if intelligence and restraint are combined with goodwill.

The Christian Church is probably more liberally supported and influential in the United States than in any other country. And perhaps no where else does denominationalism flourish so vigorously. This relation may simply reflect the fact that

when people take seriously the task of establishing closer and more harmonious relations with God, they regard differences in belief sufficiently important to warrant establishing another denomination. Or it may simply reflect the fact that the people of the United States are a heterogeneous people, and need a variety of churches to meet their needs.

A solemn, stately, formal worship, for example, may appeal to some. A less formal service in which there is more active and spontaneous participation by the worshipers may appeal to others. But it may be that the existence of many denominations is stimulating, and that each denomination has worked harder to promote God's kingdom on earth because of the existence of the others.

Monopolies frequently breed indifference and neglect. If a community had to turn to one source for spiritual guidance and encouragement, it is doubtful if that source would remain as alert and sensitive to the needs of the community as it would if there were competitors. The attitude of physicians when there is a shortage of physicians, the attitude of teachers of required courses, and the attitude of bureaucrats give substance to this doubt, and the history of the church shows all too clearly that its leaders, like the rest of us, need competition to do their best work.

Competition in good works and in spiritual growth is a resource that we cannot afford to discard. When two denominations are each supporting a college, improvements by either become an incentive to the other to make similar or greater improvements. Similarly, if a church sets

for its members a high standard of moral behavior and spiritual growth, and they are known in the community for their kindness, sobriety, friendliness, honesty, magnanimity, serenity, and radiant happiness, the members of the other church are stimulated. They do not wish to be less successful in cultivating the fruits of the spirit than their rival; in this respect the church is like an army. An army, instead of being weakened by every company seeking to be the best company in the army, is strengthened. Those who would merge all denominations into an all-inclusive church should consider the possibility that God's kingdom on earth may be best served by numerous denominations, each stimulating the others to work harder to bring about that blessed state.

Similarly, the existence of different races, instead of being an unfortunate mistake of nature, is potentially an important social and spiritual asset. Emphasis on race tension, hate, and injustice have blinded us to this possibility, and has caused many to look upon race consciousness as a moral, social, and spiritual blight which should be eradicated from the human psyche. This is an emotional reaction based on a distorted and inadequate view of race and race pride in the history of man.

By identifying himself with his race, any one may derive therefrom powerful motivation to improve himself, his race, and mankind. Race pride converts success from a self-centered achievement into an achievement for the race. And if a person's loyalty and identification embrace, as they should, mankind, he will find additional satisfaction in the knowledge that the

progress of his race contributes to the good of all.

This seems to be a driving force among the Negroes of Africa, who are seeking to demonstrate to themselves and to the world that they can develop democratic institutions, exploit the great natural resources of their continent, free their homeland of pestilence and disease, and perfect an educational system that will enable them to enter more fully into the cultural heritage of mankind and to make greater contributions to it in the fields of science, literature, religion, and philosophy. These hopes and aspirations are being encouraged by men of goodwill of all races and nationalities.

When races are widely separated, it is easy for them to maintain friendly and cooperative attitudes. When they live in the same community, this becomes more difficult, especially if the number of the minority group increases. This phenomenon has occurred frequently in the Northern cities of the United States and is now occurring in England. But that two races can live in the same community with mutual respect and goodwill has been demonstrated by numerous communities in the South. There, in spite of physical proximity, psychological and social distance prevented one from appearing to the other as a threat.

IV

A STEP BACKWARDS

THE steady improvement in race relations in the South during the fifty years preceding the Supreme Court's decision declaring that no state may maintain separate schools for White and Negro children should have been a source of gratification to all who are genuinely interested in the progress of man. The steady economic, moral, educational, and political progress of the Negro provided a firm foundation for race pride and improved status. As should be expected the Negroes were developing a class structure and an elite of their own based on achievement. It would, indeed, be sad if 100,000 Negroes in a city of 500,000 should fail to develop a satisfying social life, or should fail to produce an increasing number of successful professional and business men. Rohrer's account of the class structure of Negroes and Whites in New Orleans clearly shows that two races can live in the same community on

friendly and cooperative terms, if psychological and social distance are preserved.¹⁹

Whatever may be the ultimate effect of the Supreme Court's decision regarding compulsory integration of the schools, it can confidently be stated that it has affected adversely race relations in many places. The inability of the Christian church to impose by force its ideals, attitudes, and values upon the peoples of Europe, following Constantine's placing at its disposal the power of the state, should have warned all, especially the members of the Supreme Court, that might and court decrees cannot engender love, friendship, goodwill, and righteousness, or even justice when they ignore the rights, wishes, and ideals of large segments of the population.

The evil of seeking to compel every community to integrate racially its schools has been accentuated by denying to interested persons the right to establish racially homogeneous communities. Much can be said in defense of such communities from the point of view of national health. We live in a morally confused age, one that lacks standards and definite norms. This can reasonably be attributed in part to the mingling of diverse ethnic groups, for in an ethnically homogeneous group the chances are increased of developing common standards.

In an ethnically or racially homogeneous group, there is also greater readiness and willingness of adults to take a friendly and helpful interest in all the children of the community. The lack of

19. John H. Rohrer, *The Eighth Generation: Cultures and Personalities of New Orleans Negroes*, (New York: Harper, 1960).

this in mixed ethnic communities may be an important cause of their high crime rates.

Furthermore, our social life is based on acquaintanceships rather than on friendships. In a racially homogeneous community, acquaintanceships are more likely to deepen into friendships. Finally in such a community the children are protected from romantic attachments that can only bring unnecessary difficulties and sorrow. To deny, no matter under what pretense, a group the right to create a community, which they believe will be conducive to their happiness and the moral development of their children, is a violation of fundamental human rights and can only cause such moral blights as hate, frustration, and resentment.

What has been said regarding the right to establish a racially homogeneous community applies to the right of a community to establish separate schools for the different races within it. With this right goes the obligation to establish equal educational facilities for all.

But equality should not be interpreted in such a way as to restrict the educational opportunities for all. It is desirable that children be friendly with their schoolmates, that they play and dance together, and visit in each other's homes. These social experiences and amenities are made more difficult and dangerous when the community is required to send children of different races to the same school.²⁰

20. According to Olin D. Johnston, United States Senator from South Carolina, there are in one of the school districts of his state 1009 Negro children, whose parents live in the North, primarily, according to an N.A.A.C.P. leader, because of "immoral conditions in the Northern integrated schools." Readers Digest, December, 1961, pp. 119-120.

No outside authority has the right to compel a community to choose between continuing these amenities, in spite of the danger of undesirable romantic attachments and of moral confusion, and abandoning them, thereby restricting the social experience of all. Efforts to do so have seriously impaired race relations in the South, and have weakened the foundations of democracy.

Some Negroes, impressed with the progress of their race and with the improvement of race relations, have shown little enthusiasm to force the integration of schools and other facilities. They rightly fear that such efforts are endangering the progress that has been made. But instead of being acclaimed for their wisdom, they are accused of seeking to preserve their leadership in a backward group without encountering the sharp competition of Whites in an integrated society. This accusation is of doubtful validity. Their attitude may well reflect a genuine concern for the welfare of Negroes and for the nation as a whole. Certainly it is reasonable to believe that Negroes by cultivating race pride and by working to improve themselves can do more to improve the status of their race than by attempting to force upon communities by the power of court decisions patterns of behavior which are deeply resented.

Indeed, the latter course is a threat to democracy itself. Democracy is rooted in respect for the worth and the dignity of the individual as a free, rational, moral being. But the choice and delicate fruit of this root cannot survive in an attitude of hate, frustration, and bitterness. The numerous reactionary movements in our nation

should warn us that the fund of goodwill on which democracy may draw is not unlimited. If too many disagreeable demands are made in its name, it may become bankrupt from lack of goodwill in the hearts and minds of men to honor its drafts.

Democracy can only flourish when men respect the feelings and wishes of each other, and are animated by a refined and delicate sense of self-respect, forbearance, and concern for the common good; the democratic way of life is too complex to be imposed or regulated by law. Law is essential to freedom and an ordered society. But law cannot create the fruits of the spirit. Unless citizens act within the framework of law to preserve the goodwill and mutual respect essential to an ordered society, law and force can only make a society of straightjacketed and frustrated men, filled with hate and bitterness. To preserve a democracy, it is important to recognize that it is not always *right* to insist upon "legal rights." Otherwise, the law and the courts may smother both freedom and democracy.

Whether nature made a mistake in producing several rather than one race, we may never know. But we do know that there are different races, and that our task is to make the best possible use of this fact.

To recapitulate, a person becomes a more dynamic person and his life is raised to a higher spiritual and moral level by identifying himself with his family. Identification with one's family is facilitated by the existence of other families. Identification with one's community, school, and

church has similar effects, and in each case identification is facilitated by the existence of other communities, schools, and churches. Loyalty to and identification with one's race will also stimulate the best in a person, and cause him to work harder to improve himself and the status of his race. Finally, competition between groups may motivate all to work harder for the common good.

The value of group identification is, of course, affected by the values and attitudes of the group and by what the individual believes to be the good of the group. If these are unethical, group identification will be a stunting and blighting influence. But if the group and its members recognize that its good, like the good of the individual, involves an outgoing attitude that does not stop short of concern for the good of mankind, then identification with it will raise its members morally, socially, and spiritually. By seeking the good of the group, with which he identifies himself, he promotes his own and that of mankind. Working with nature and using the sources of energy and moral idealism, which she has provided, may be wiser and more constructive than ignoring what seems to be her strategy of moral and social development.

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